553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [674] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ẍnaba, the panther; Ẍbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ẍhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

551 not bring about any substitution of names for either sex. If the father's name is Mohamed, one would say Anaba ag (son of) Mohamed, or Chékou oult (daughter of) Mohamed. Nominal filiation is therefore patrilinear.

Nicknames are numerous in the Ahaggar. Father de Foucauld tells us that "they are sometimes proper names of persons different from the one already received, sometimes names recalling a physical peculiarity or an event, sometimes meaningless names. A great many people have no nicknames. Among those who do have them, some accept them and others are insulted by them. Sometimes nicknames are temporary, known only to a few intimate friends and quickly forgotten. Sometimes they become so attached to the person that he is never referred to in any other way and his real name falls into oblivion." (2)

2. Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres /Short Tuareg-French Dictionary of Proper Names/, p. xv.

842 Conception and nursing. -- As for conception, the Tuareg see in it nothing but the will of God. However, they also establish the causal relationship of sexual intercourse and do not discuss the possibility that a woman can conceive without contact with a man. The existence and role of spermatozoa are unknown, but the Tuareg /285/ recognize the action of the seminal liquid and women practice spraying as a contraceptive measure. Professor [114] Gautier has even spoken of a primitive douche. This apparatus is not known by Tuareg women, and Gautier surely must have confused it with the enema.

841 Menstruation (iba-n-amoud) begins between the ages of thirteen [145] and fifteen years for Tuareg girls and causes them great fright. While they are indisposed they make no intimate toilet and often take no precautions to absorb the flow, which spots their clothing. [183] They also abstain from making prayers as if they were in a state of impurity.

country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote, 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

Social Organization. The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [a] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

[b] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

[c] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

4: Benhazera--1 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Book One

The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life

Part One

The Tuareg in their Private Life

Chapter I

Birth. Childhood

In Tamashek, birth is called "tiouit" ⵜⵉⵡⵉⵜ. There is no special observance to note concerning the birth of a child among the Tuareg. However, there is greater joy if it is a boy. People come to congratulate the parents and, seven days later, the latter serve a more or less lavish feast, depending on their means, the feast being preceded by the recitation of the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran). Those present who do not know Arabic limit themselves during this recitation to holding their open hands together like a book. It is on this day that the child is given its name.

On this subject, I think I should note that especially among the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe of the Ahaggar), many children were given the names of wild beasts or animals.

Examples of Men's Names

Amellal, addax, meha /?/
Abeggui, jackal
Amayas, cheetah
Akhou, wild animal

551

Anr'eroubou, lion
Ahar, lion
Eknissi, hedgehog /4/
Akouti, rat
Amadjour, camel
Amder', giraffe, etc.

Examples of Women's Names
Tamerouelt, hare
Tahenkatt, gazelle
Tinirt, mohr antelope
Tamer'ouant, cowrie shell
Tadar'ine, grains (of wheat, barley, etc.)

In the course of this study there will be found many proper names of men and women which might give rise to interesting comparisons with names used among other Berber tribes of North Africa.

The Tuareg child is brought up heedlessly, with the negresses' children. It is chiefly the negress who takes care of him. He lives out-of-doors, often quite naked or hardly dressed, and his body is toughened early. During the nursing period the negress makes a kind of hammock out of an old haïk, the two ends of which are fastened to tree branches or to the tent pegs, and this kind of cradle is called "taoulioula" (from the verb "eouilaouel" , to swing). 854

While he is still very young, barely seven years old, the child is employed as a shepherd and acquits himself very well at his task. 857

Then, as soon as possible, he is perched on a mehari (racing camel), for he must know his regular mount thoroughly. Young Harendou, an orphan of the Aoulimmiden /Aulliminden/, taken in by Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, was already an excellent meharist at the age of ten. At his side he wore a "takouba" (saber) larger than himself of which he was very proud. /5/ [492 868]

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 262 565 825 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349. Neither mosques nor muezzins are found in Tuareg country. See also l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale /History of North Africa/, by E. Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1. [171]

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east. They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilometers from there, and we were shown it in passing. The breech has also been named "Elias' Breech." 773 823

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah, son of Salih? [551] [174]

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the throne? 174 773

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

614
613
423
551
224
643
651

Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Ṛali tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Ṛali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessilliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

Tenants	Name and value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal*
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant	2 goats
YEḴI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section	TAĞMART No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section	AṚECHCHUM No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
KHABTÉ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section & AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section	I-N-DALAĞ Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey
AFAREḴ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section	AKAL-EREṚEN Hunting of barbary sheep	Unknown
BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown)
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*	ABALESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements	No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections	TEZZA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief)

[361]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Sub-areas of the territory of the Aɣuh-en-tehlé tribe
(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Arefsa*)

Tenants	Value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal*
SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aɣuh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes*	Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalaɣ Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys for domestication	2 donkeys
OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt*	Hunting of barbary sheep Collecting of wild seeds	3 goats
ABERĠALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*	Hunting of barbary sheep	2 goats
KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader	Cultivation grounds at I-n-agriwal and I-n-dalaɣ. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys	2 donkeys
DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section	No particular value	No land-rent
AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afaru-he hin* section	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey
HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe	Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset In the past wild donkeys	1 donkey
KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Relayddin* now attached to the *Aɣuh-en-tehlé* tribe	*Khoseni* is in command of the *Relayddin* territory to which all members of the *Relayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal*	

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *ɣréwen* or *tamezzaɣ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *hereɣen* (or *amezzaṛ n hereɣen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharaɣen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.

[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Émenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much

[551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had

[114] [428] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas

[433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly

[224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Télewa, valley, grazing ground, Ayr 423, 425
Telhecham, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423
Temenjit, oasis of Tawat 18
Terezzet, valley, grazing ground near Agadez, Ayr 423
Terhenanet, cultivation centre, Ah. 2, 187
Tessawa, town of the Kel Geres country 7, 27, 421
Téwendegit, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423
Tezza, mountain, sub-area of the Dag Rali territory 148
Tibeghin, cultivation centre, Ah. 150, 185, 187
Tillabery, town on the Niger 9
Timbuktu (correctly Tinbuktut), 6, 7, 9, 113, 168, 170, 217-219, 294, 345, 358, 388, 393, 414, 416, 434
Timia, village, Ayr 217, 293, 344
Ti-n-amenser, cultivation centre, Ah. 3
Ti-n-Chaman, Ayr 415
Ti-n-Duwin, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Tindar, quarter of the village Abalessa, Ah. 329
Ti-n-Tebezgin, valley, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423
Ti-n-Teburak, valley, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423
Ti-n-zawaten, watering place north of Adrar-n-Foras 9, 131
Tirezrin, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Tit, village, Ah. 2, 187, 330, 399, 409
Tombalaga, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Towar, village, Ayr 344
Turuf, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Uraren, grazing grounds, Northern Ayr 423
Utul, cultivation centre, Ah. 2, 3, 335
Wan Abu, Tas.-n-Aj. 159
Zinder (correctly Zénder), 3, 4, 9, 210, 241, 344, 416, 485
Zurika, wells, grazing grounds of Northern Ayr 423

PERSONAL NAMES

Abergali, Ah. 149
Afanu, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426
Afareq, Ah. 148
Agg-Elkhir, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 419, 426, 427, 462
Ag-Mama, Amenukal of Ahaggar about 1830 397
Ahitafel, Amenukal of Ahaggar 1877-1900 397
Akawali, Ah. 149
Akhamuk, Amenukal of Ahaggar 1920-1941 379, 397
Akhasen, Ah. 148
Akhenukhen, supreme chief of the Uraren and the Kel Ajjer (19th century) 393
Akkar, a supreme chief of the now extinct Iseheten tribe 408
Amder, chief of the Kel Tahabanat of the Iwl. Kel Ataram 5, 372, 373, 377, 435, 437
Amenukal, son of Sabenas, the ancestress of the noble Kel Ferwan 426
Amma, Ah. 148
Arumbulu, chief of the Ilesen Tuareg when the Ayr Sultanry was established 412, 414
Atisi, Amenukal of Ahaggar 1900-1905 397
Azerezzer, chief of Iferwan at the time of Sabenas' arrival in Ayr 421
Azeror, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426
Bay, Amenukal of Ahaggar from 1950 397, 403, 411
Bubeker, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426
Bukha, present drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426, 427
Buskeyas, Ah. 148
Danguchi, Ah. chief of the Dag Rali tribe 148
Demoni, Ah. 148
Deyni, Ah. 149
Efis, Ah. ancestor of the Tegehé-n-Efis tribe 140
Elkarebi, son of the ancestress of the noble Kel Ferwan, Sabenas 426
Elkhaj Akhmed, Amenukal of Ahaggar 1830-1877 18, 187, 397
Emenni ag-Khedidda, Ah. descendant of the Isebeten tribe 408
Esebet, Ah. a woman's name 408
Guma, Tuareg of the Uraren who killed the supreme chief of the Imenan 393, 395
Hanu, Ah. 149
Joluta, ac. to tradition a rumi who built the tomb of Ti-n-Hinan 407
Kadi, Ah. the ancestor of the Ikaderyen tribe 140
Kawchen, the leader of the great Tuareg revolt in Ayr 1917 489
Kella, Ah. the ancestress of the noble Kel Rela tribe 140, 395
Khabté, Ah. 148
Khejji, son of the late Kel Ferwan drum-chief Agg-Elkhir 426, 427, 462
Khofa, Ah. 149
Khoseni, Ah. 149
Kutiya, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426
Lemta, the ancestor of the Ilemtéyen tribe 411
Lemtuna, ac. to tradition the ancestress of all Tuareg 405
Lowayen, Ah. the ancestor of the Ayt Lowayen tribe 140
Marli agg Amayas, Ah. khalifa of the Ahaggar Amenukal, Bay 403
Meslar, Amenukal of Ahaggar 1941-1950 397
Mokhammed, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426
Mokhammed ag-Kerku, Ah. a descendant of the Isebeten tribe 408
Mokhammed ag Mokhammed, drum-chief of the Taytok of Ahaggar 399
Mukhammed Aman, son of the ancestress of the noble Kel Ferwan, Sabenas 426

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

551

Musa, Amenukal of Ahaggar 1905-1920 397
Omana, Ah. 149
Ɣali, Ah. the ancestor of the Dag Ɣali tribe 140, 141
Ɣali, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426
Sabenas, the ancestress of the noble Kel Ferwan 413, 421, 426
Sakina, Ah. the ancestress of the Taytoḳ tribe 140, 395
Sama Alatokh, Ah. chief of the Aguh-en-tehlé tribe 149
Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir, the first Amenukal of Ahaggar, 18th century 395-397
Sidna Dawud, the patron saint of blacksmiths 18
Tadaweli, ac. to Nicolas the ancestress of the noble Kel Ferwan 413
Takama, the ancestress of vassal tribes in Ahaggar 140, 405-407, 485
Ti-n-Hinan, the ancestress of the noble tribes Kel Ɣela and Taytoḳ in Ahaggar 330, 405-411, 438
Umar, Sultan (Amenukal) of Agadez 413, 415, 431
Wanarli, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426
Yeki, Ah. 148
Yunes, Amenukal of Ahaggar about 1790 397